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cept his point of departure, his detail theories of social forces would unavoidably have fallen into the form of corollaries under this main thesis. The resulting theories of social conduct would of course not have taken the same form of expression, nor showed the same structural relations as the present body of psychological doctrines offered by M. Tarde—the apparatus by which he has made his approach to this point of departure.

But after all has been said, M. Tarde's work will always be of high value, both for economic and sociological students, in that it will greatly lighten the work of any fairly-equipped student who may take up the inquiry on the ground given by modern psychological science, and push it outward over the field which M. Tarde has traversed. It will also continue to be valuable on account of that easy and graceful presentation which has given his work its wide vogue, as well as on account of the cogent manner in which he argues for, and illustrates, the thesis that social and economic institutional structure is always and everywhere an outcome of the play of psychological forces.

V.

Demokratie und Kaisertum. Ein Handbuch für innere Politik. By FRIEDRICH NAUMANN. Berlin-Schöneberg: Buchverlag der *Hilfe*, 1900. 8vo, pp. iv + 231.

THERE is, perhaps, no more interesting person in the present life of political parties in Germany than Rev. Friedrich Naumann, the editor of the highly significant political weekly *Die Hilfe* and the acknowledged leader of the National-Social party. A few years ago he resigned his position as pastor of a congregation in Frankfurt a. M., because he felt himself hampered by the restrictions laid upon a pastor of the state church by both state and ecclesiastical authorities. He has since that devoted all his energies to the political and economic agitation and education of the German people. Beginning his career in the group of evangelical-social politicians led by Rev. Adolph Stöcker, he outgrew the narrow-mindedness of their social-political ideas which condemned their movement to political stagnation, both in numbers and in influence. Indeed, the National-Social party, of which Fr. Naumann became the founder, attracted the brains and energies of the younger and broader-minded ministers or university professors gathered around Stöcker, and unquestionably represents more intellect and talent than any of the great political parties of the

fatherland. Its constituency is principally recruited from the ranks of university professors, teachers, journalists, students, skilled workmen. The unusual preponderance of the professional, university-bred men has led to its designation, by opponents, as an army of generals and officers, but without rank and file. But this must be taken *cum grano salis*, for its influence on the inner constitution, the thought, and the policy of the parties to the left as well as to the right, cannot easily be overrated. It was and is acting as a leaven on the doctrinarianism of reactionary and progressive parties.

Rev. Naumann looks back on an unusually long list of books and pamphlets on subjects of religion, politics, and political economy. The book before us sums up in an admirable manner not only the political belief of the author, but is, besides, the best introduction to the theoretical basis of modern German political, economical, and social tendencies, and to an understanding of the principal constituent forces which are going to determine and develop them in the future. The author arranges his subject-matter in three main divisions, discussing first the democratic forces and theories, with the emphasis on the present and future policies of the socialistic workingmen's party. After that the aristocratic elements, both sociological and political-economical, are viewed, and as a third and decisive factor he introduces his conception of "Kaisertum," which is to unite the disintegrating and seemingly irreconcilable elements—*i. e.*, the democracy and the aristocracy.

In order to attain a higher democracy, political as well as social, the socialist and liberalist parties, according to Herr Naumann, have to enter into a fusion, forming thus one formidable party of liberal and progressive democracy. This will take place so soon as the Social-Democrats leave their ultra-Marxistic policy of non-interference and unproductively critical attitude toward everything which may emanate from bourgeois or government sources and interests. In this movement, if it comes to pass, the socialistic workingmen will be the leaders, both in numbers and in intelligent, energetic progressiveness. Nor is the time for this fusion likely to be very far ahead, since Eduard Bernstein's criticism of his party's platform and parliamentary action has stirred and united all the sober-minded, cautious energies among the leading young socialists, and cleared the way for a more matter-of-fact view of the situation and for the practical work of the trades unions, the co-operative societies, and the gradual socialization of industries in state and city. All these movements have

tremendously increased in scope and influence of late years, and their constant growth bids fair to weld together all democratic forces in Germany into one great body which, no doubt, in time will gradually wear away those antiquated reactionary police regulations and impediments to civic freedom so unworthy of German civilization.

Although at heart a Socialist, and frankly confessing himself to be such an one, and although in favor of a thorough democratization of German life and politics, he by no means shuts his eyes to the necessary and wholesome aristocratic tendencies in the history of mankind. But with him aristocratic is not identical with conservative. In fact, those conservative agrarian interests, principally represented by the landed nobility of Prussia, have no more uncompromising foe than Rev. Naumann. They endanger, he says, the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and the position of Germany as a material and civilizing world-power. But he views with great satisfaction the growing aristocratization in the standard of life, the mode of thinking, and the tastes, of large groups in the very midst of the most democratic party, having in mind the highly paid, skilled, organized wage-earner, whose striving for material, intellectual, and spiritual culture is one of the most noteworthy features of modern German life. It is in them he looks for an intelligent understanding of the perplexing and problematic condition in which Germany finds herself today, and for the proper action leading from the present political deadlock. For, indeed, if the present calamitous maladjustment of internal politics is perpetuated, the future of the nation is one of unspeakable gloom and of baffled energies.

The most interesting part of the book is the third, dealing with the significance of the imperial office in Germany, and in particular with Wilhelm II. Outsiders have of late grown to have at least a dim notion of what the emperor means in the German constitution, and especially in the present situation of German interests. He is not only the powerful manager of all foreign affairs, but he is the very cornerstone of the unity of the German states. Superficial observers do not take him so seriously as he ought to be taken, as one of the most wide-awake, intelligent, strenuous, and progressive characters, not among sovereigns only, but among all the public leaders of the day. No doubt his working force and his grasp of facts are not short of being amazing, and coupled with a deeply religious conception of his office and its responsibilities. Add to this that the imperial powers vested in his person are of the highest importance, and everybody will

admit the paramount character of the imperial factor for the present and for the future of Germany. The author conclusively shows how the restoration of the German empire in 1871 was but the consummation of political-economic unity of the German states and that the very idea of the German empire and its head was, in the economical respect, progressive and anti-conservative in its beginning, and, lest it be not untrue to itself, it has to remain so for all time to come.

But what is the situation? The urban, *i. e.*, the industrial and commercial population of Germany, has so far outgrown her rural, *i. e.*, her agricultural population, in numbers and importance, that the latter cannot feed the vastly increasing numbers of industrial inhabitants. According to Treitschke the state has the one sacred duty of self-preservation, while the individual quite often is impelled to replace this by the duty of self-sacrifice. If Germany is to keep her population, which is naturally increasing by an extraordinarily high birthrate, within her domain, it must expand economically in order to preserve herself, in the very interest of civilization. German language, literature, philosophy, concern the whole world, and it is of prime importance that this language remain the language of all those cradled by German mothers. Germany is determined to direct her emigration in her own commercial and cultural interests. Therefore it must expand commercially and industrially as well as colonially, and in Europe, perhaps, bring about a consolidation of the empire with Austria, Holland, etc. All of this is inevitable. There is no man in Germany, the author emphasizes, who sees the situation so clearly as does the German emperor, and he is determined to act accordingly. "Welt-politik" and "Weltwirtschaft" and "Weltverkehr" with him merge into a clearly conceived law of natural evolution. Nor is the young generation lacking in enthusiasm and willingness to follow their imperial captain. But while so far the emperor has been obliged to get support for his policy of economic expansion among the industrial and commercial classes, to protect and to advance these interests he had to go back to the conservative and agricultural parties. This means a bold and consistent policy in all foreign affairs while, in order to carry on this policy with the necessary force to back it, the state of things is becoming unbearable in all matters concerning the interior policy and impeding the wholesome evolution toward more democratic institutions. This anomaly is mainly due to the hitherto extremely negative, revolutionary, and wild agitation and tactics of the German Socialists, who denounce any compromise with the powers

that be as a disloyalty to the ideals of Socialism and obstinately refuse to see things in a level-headed way. But the forces that lead out of this dilemma are at work. It may be readily seen that there exists an interdependence of the forces that work for greater civic freedom and of those that assert Germany's economical world-power.

This must suffice as an outline of the main string of thought running through this book, which is not only logically arranged as to the subject it treats, but, moreover, is written in an unusually attractive, well-balanced, and vividly concrete style.

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Essais sur le mouvement ouvrier en France. By DANIEL HALÉVY.

Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition (Librairie Georges Bellais), 1901. 8vo, pp. 300.

THE several phases of the labor movement in France with which M. Halévy deals in this little volume may be indicated briefly as the organization of labor into unions, its association in co-operative enterprises, its appeal to political action in the development of socialism, and the reaction manifest in anarchistic tendencies. The essays are excellently done. The author, though catholic in sympathy, and an apologist for excesses committed by and in the name of organized labor, has, nevertheless, perfectly definite convictions which he does not hesitate to state frankly—at times badly. He believes some form of organization to be an essential condition of industrial progress. Labor organizations and labor leaders in England and America have, he thinks, had fairer treatment and consideration than they have received in France, where labor leaders have been persecuted by employers, maligned in the public press, and even denied by those of their own fellow workmen who have profited by their unselfish devotion. Black-listed, driven from place to place in search of employment, reduced to absolute destitution, these men have, according to Mr. Halévy, often had upon their side both law and justice. They have had assurance in the enactment of one labor law after another, of certain rights and privileges—the right, for example, of organization into unions, and the guarantee of protection against persecution by employers, but, socially and practically, these rights have been denied them, and the law defied. The industrial hierarchy within the nation has proved too strong for the political democracy, which has recorded its mandates in public statutes only to have them set aside. M. Halévy writes: